consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadhs officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is [576] treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and kotchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. [294] Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or chayehi might be considered first. There are ten chaykhanas in the town. That located beside the serai has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the bazar area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's" chaykhana spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

265 347 [352] [415] [451]

The etiquette of entering a chaykhana varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

265 576

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family,

265 576 265 [45] [272] [262] [443] [524] 353 265

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan and Bayin Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy.

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [609]

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Baradost country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

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In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowandus, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or behavior.

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[576]

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowanduz this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

565 574 [529] 565 573 574 [875]

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

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tempt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

although he often conceals the adulation of his heir and 593
acts, much more than any other person in the family, as
the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his
father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the [576]
latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As
his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and consent
in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such
as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a
confidant until the son has married and passed well into
adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general
repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion.
"If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his
mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes,
she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the
influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts
to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man de-
sired a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his
father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother
who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not
exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the
case of the father. The relationship between father and
daughter is similar to that between the former and his son.
She must rise when her father enters the room and observe [576]
respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply
harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.'"
If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her
mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other
hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father 593
often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

The relationship between grandparents and grand- 603
children is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of [576] ●
such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowandus by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

The connections between an individual and his 604
uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (xal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (pilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the diwanxana

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [778] [576] [291] [353] [793] [788]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic a'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

Fig. 33. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sangsār.
Fig. 34. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Tepsawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of year—by felt mats, *kilāfē*, and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[1] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *sufrat*, or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the more wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *hayvān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *kafrūšīn*, (LSD I. (E. 2271)). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferi
to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and ve
refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like t
latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the pa
of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Balakawti *chenga* of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are us
In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[39]. In the villages the dri
is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlā*[40]
(L. 2264), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dū*
can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to dra
away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can b
kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

Her making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copp
coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. hig
(L. 2275)[41], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Solaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) elemen
which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *chay-khāna*, a tea house, wher
one could stop and be served with tea, *chay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apa
from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ende
being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[42], and in the evening constitute
both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged o
a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug. *Hāddi*, (L. 2254) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around
her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *jā*
shaped samōwar of pewter or brass[43] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of pincers
is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse
or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar
interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until th
water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling wate
a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for th
innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an ascending sequence to those present. At the side of th
samowar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[44] lie i
a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said t
have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapo
and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samowar, each glass being sweetened wit
granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with *loaf sugar* broken into piece
on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[45]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[47]. Th
tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be use
When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down o
the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

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The morning prayer with its two *rak'a* took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[9], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[9] of interrupting the worshipper.

Leach[10] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 97. Woman praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

The head veil of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night [554] in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[3]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women wore black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-ochre "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

574 considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for
554 the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expence of keeping an «open house» in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a «right» to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which *all* the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as «guesthouse», playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

574 No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least
576 be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to
564 this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies
272] between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to
276] one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

621 The persons assembling normally in «the smokefilled room»[1] are
554 the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest ase discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[1] 104 or the Agha's guest house. — Analyst]

765 in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

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RAIDING AND WARFARE

721 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of
701 leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.